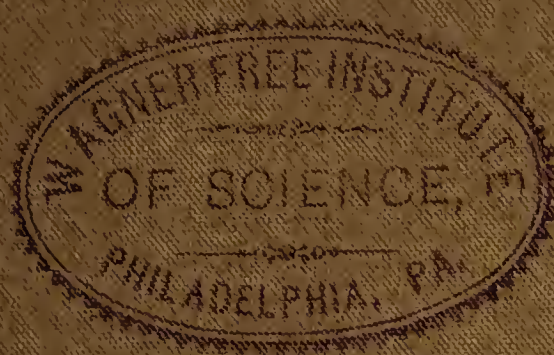


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INAUGURAL ADDRESS  
OF  
JAMES A. BEAVER  
1887



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Pennsylvania - Governor

3 Jan 14 A.M.F.

# ADDRESS

OF

JAMES A. BEAVER.

Delivered at Harrisburg January 18, 1887, on the Occasion of His  
Inauguration as Governor of Pennsylvania.

CITIZENS OF PENNSYLVANIA:—Your suffrages have called me to your service. The call is of right. The suffrage is the ordinary method of expressing it. The service is your due. The solemn obligation which binds me to you as the Executive of the commonwealth has been taken, and it now only remains as the customary conclusion of this ceremony, to address you in a few words expressive of my appreciation of the confidence which you have so generously reposed in me, of my views in regard to the relation which has thus been constituted between us, and of my understanding of your wishes as to the manner in which the service, which results from it is to be rendered. A word as to the service itself.

*It is a service of obligation.* In a government of the people, the convenience of one must necessarily yield to the call of the many. This principle is fundamental. It applies no less to the duties which the citizen owes his country in civil, than in military service. The failure of many citizens to recognise its binding force does not in any degree lessen the obligation, and it is safe to say that popular government can never reach its highest aim and most perfect development until all who share its advantages are ready to respond to the call for, and to render such service as may be fairly demanded of them.

*It is a service of responsibility.* The duty of the in-

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dividual citizen is of itself sufficiently responsible, but when in addition to this, any number of citizens join in delegating to one of their number additional duties, requiring more exacting service, the responsibility is, of course, greatly increased. This is true whether the authority delegated, or the duty required be by few or by many. But when five millions of people combine by a majority of their number, in calling upon a single individual to serve them as their executive officer, the responsibility assumes great and grave proportions. It is in this case, keenly felt and not lightly assumed.

*It is also a service of accountability.* The public servant who loses sight of the account which he must render to the constituency which has entrusted him with the power and authority of representing it, is not likely to realise either the obligations or the responsibility of the place to which he is called. For every act of administration in his responsible office, the Executive is accountable to you. This accountability must be kept in view each day and hour with special reference to your general judgment upon the administration as a whole when the obligations now assumed are laid down, and the power and authority with which you now invest him, are returned to your hands for transmission to another. We must also not forget that the relation which is to-day finally consummated, is held under, and subordinated to, a higher power to whom all of us are alike fully and finally accountable.

The relation which we assume toward each to-day is one of such age, importance, and dignity, that time and custom, as well as the constitution and the laws, have in a large measure defined and prescribed its duties. You have yourselves surrounded it with certain limitations in the constitution of the commonwealth which must be taken by the Executive as the letter of his instructions received at your hands.

The Executive is your creature, controlled by your will; but by that will formally expressed through the constitution and the laws. So far as these are applicable to the discharge of any duties which confront him, they are bind-



ing and unbending. He must take them as they are, and must be governed by them in all things which concern his duty. The constitution is to him a letter of limitation. The doubts in regard to its meaning, if any exist, must be by him resolved in its favor. Others may seek to be governed by its spirit; he must be governed by its letter. Individual preferences and liberal construction must, alike, yield to literal and exact interpretation.

The constitution fixes the place of the Executive, and he is bound to keep it. He must carefully see to it that the independence of the legislative and judicial branches of the government is not in any way invaded by him.

The responsibility of the legislature in making the laws, and of the judiciary in expounding them, must be, as it ought to be, carefully recognised. No slight motive, no personal feeling, and no individual judgment should, therefore, move the Executive in the exercise of the veto power. The constitution has, it is true, vested that power in him; but it must be exercised in such a way as to recognise the independence and the responsibility of the legislature. The legislature is elected once in two years. Its members are responsible directly to their immediate constituencies. It is to be taken for granted, therefore, that its members represent the will of the people; and that will is not to be lightly set aside. It is to be hoped that, with this view publicly expressed, the legislature will maintain its independence and assume the responsibility which belongs to it as the law-making power, and that careful and well-considered legislation will prevent the exercise of the constitutional prerogative, vested in the Executive, except in urgent, extreme, or extraordinary cases.

As to the general policy of administration to be pursued, you will expect something to be said. Your views are sought to be reflected in the following general principles:

You expect efficiency in the public service. No man should be appointed to place, unless specially qualified for the duties of that place. Qualification is the first consideration, and to this all other considerations should yield.

You expect economy in the appropriation and expendi-

ture of public moneys ; and yet you believe that economy of administration does not consist necessarily in a minimum of expenditure. A revenue conveniently collected which bears equally upon all and hardly upon none, should be so expended that the commonwealth shall receive one hundred cents' worth of value for every dollar of expenditure. Our educational system and our charitable and penal institutions are to be generously sustained. Our industrial development is to be aided by the judicious expenditure of money. That is wise economy which expends it with a view to the future as well as the present. The state never dies ; the state should never grow old ; and, therefore, our foundations should be broadly and strongly laid, and our building upon them so far as we progress, should be solid and enduring.

You expect ordinary honesty and ordinary prudence to be exercised in the conduct of your business. That which is dishonest in the confidential agent of an individual, or imprudent in the careful business man, is dishonest and imprudent in a public official. In a word, the same rules as to integrity and prudence which apply in the ordinary business intercourse of man with man, apply to the relation which public officials bear to you.

You expect that the laws will be impartially administered. The weakest are to be carefully guarded in the enjoyments of their rights because they are weak ; and the strongest are to be preserved from prejudice because they are strong. Persons, natural and artificial, are to be held alike amenable to law, and neither class is to be favored or prejudiced at the expense of the other. A corporation should receive just so much consideration as would be accorded to its humblest stockholder ; and the poorest citizen of the Commonwealth should receive the same protection as the most powerful corporation.

You will expect the administration to be one of the people and not of a party. Each citizen of the commonwealth has a right to demand at the hands of the administration the same consideration as is accorded to every other. Emphasis is, therefore, laid upon the fact, that although



elected by a party, the Executive is the servant of the people, and every citizen of the commonwealth, no matter what his views as to questions of public policy have been and are, has equal right to his time, attention, and service.

Questions of popular interest and public importance have been passed upon by the people through their suffrages at the election, which resulted in the choice of the present executive officers of the commonwealth. There is no disposition to evade the responsibility which has thus been entailed. The majority of the people of the commonwealth demand the right to pass upon the question of the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks, within its limits, by constitutional enactment. This is neither a question of morals, solely nor of partisan politics; nor is it believed that the people divide upon it by the ordinary lines of political thought and action. It is, therefore, due to them that the question should be submitted fairly, fully, frankly, and in such a way, and at such a time, as will enable them to vote their individual sentiments upon it. In the ordinary course of events such submission cannot take place until three months from and after the passage of a joint resolution covering the subject, by the legislature which shall assemble in January, 1889. It is believed that the pledge and promise on this subject, which undoubtedly secured the votes of many citizens, will be most fairly met, and most fully carried out by the submission of such an amendment to the constitution, at a special election, when no other question will engross public thought, and when each citizen may vote his sentiments upon that particular subject without reference to, or interference from, any other.

The general interests of labor have a large place in public thought, and are receiving much of public attention. The term "labor", thus used is restricted to the employed classes which labor with their hands. It may be that all of the demands of labor, so called, are not wise. It may be that some of its demands should not be conceded. It must be true, however, that with discontent so widespread and demand so general, there are wrongs to be



righted and remedies to be applied which shall, or ought to, lighten the load and ease the burdens which labor has to carry. The labor market is overstocked. The supply is greater than the demand. The inevitable consequence is want of opportunity to work for men who are able and willing to work ; inadequate compensation to those who do work ; and undue competition among those who are seeking for employment. In the present condition of the industrial development of our country, the remedy for this state of affairs is to be found largely in the diversification of our industries. This, under our form of government, is a question with which the general government through its legislative and executive branches must almost exclusively deal. This is not the time, nor is this the place, for a general discussion of this question, so far as it relates to the policy to be pursued by the general government. But there are some questions coming exclusively within state control which demand attention, and to which scarcely more than an allusion can at present be made. Although the diversification of our industries depends largely upon national legislation relating to the duties upon imported articles manufactured abroad, and the establishment and maintenance of a commercial marine, something may doubtless be done by us in this direction which will not only open up new avenues of employment, but which will elevate the whole tone and standard of labor. We have passed the point at which our industries are confined to their rudimentary forms. We not only minister to the absolute wants of our people by our industries, but we also contribute to their enjoyment and to the cultivation of their taste thereby. It becomes us, therefore, to provide liberally for the education of our industrial classes in all the branches of industrial art, and of art as applied to industry which tends to multiply the avenues of employment and to increase the rewards of labor.

Labor is entitled to education, to the right to organise for mutual improvement and protection, to an equal voice in fixing the wage rate, and the settlement of other questions in which it has a vital interest, to impartial ar-

bitration when irreconcilable differences between it and its employer arise, and to such legislation as will enable it to secure, if economical and frugal, a homestead which shall be preserved to it inviolable. Opportunity for a more extended discussion of these rights of labor may offer in the future in a communication to the legislature, touching the importance and necessity of legislation in regard to some of them, and remark upon them is therefore limited to their mere enumeration.

The question of the reform and enlargement of our educational system is one which should be brought to the attention of the people of the entire commonwealth, with a view of securing extended discussion and intelligent criticism. It is here introduced because of its importance, at greater length than would be otherwise desirable or proper. The time was when a system of popular education, under the direction of the commonwealth, was opposed and bitterly assailed, and its introduction impeded by the masses of our people. The time is now when the demand of the people is in favor of an enlarged educational system, improved educational methods, and more thoroughly competent instruction. Within a short time, on the streets of our principal city, a great procession of its intelligent laboring population, numbering 30,000 or more, bore upon hundreds of transparencies a demand, among other things, for "education", and this in a city which leads all other localities in the commonwealth in the efficiency of its school system, in the liberality with which that system is maintained, and in the variety which is introduced into it. The main fault of our present system is that it leads directly and inevitably to that which is abstract, and away from that which is practical. It deals in words and signs, and not with facts and things. The graduate of our average high school, as all experience proves, is educated away from what are called industrial pursuits, and into a fitness for those employments which involve only mental training. In short, the head is developed at the expense of the hand, and we are compelled to rely upon the skilled labor of other countries to fill the most lucrative and important po-



sitions which our industrial establishments offer. The value of mere intellectual training is not underestimated, nor is its importance overlooked. But years of successful experiment in America have demonstrated beyond question that mind and hand can be developed together as quickly, as fully, and with much better results, than can the mind alone. There is no reason why industrial manual training cannot be engrafted upon our present school system, with little of expense, with little, if any, change in the machinery of school management, with no change in our general system of laws relating thereto, and with infinite advantage to our industrial development and to our common weal. Small beginnings have already been made in this direction in some of our larger cities. Such training should become universal wherever a sufficient number of our children and youth are gathered in our schools to insure a proper grading for the purposes of instruction. Pennsylvania, with a school system second to that of no other state in the union, should not be behind in the introduction of this system of training the hand as well as the mind, which is demanded by many experienced educators, and which is already being introduced by some of our sister states with satisfactory results. The system here referred to, strange as it may seem, was first introduced in Russia, and its principles brought to the notice of the great mass of our educators in America at the centennial exhibition of 1876. It deals with the general training of the eye and hand, and does not undertake to fit them for any specific trade or vocation. It imparts a knowledge of the principles of drawing and construction, but does not undertake to put those principles into active operation for immediate practical purposes. The application of these principles to a specific object is better reached through the medium of trade schools, which, although important and useful in themselves, could scarcely be generally maintained in connection with our common school system; and which, if founded, should be established with reference to the wants of particular localities, by local enterprise or private charity. This whole question is one of broad significance, and of the utmost importance



to our present welfare and future development. It would be well if it could be accorded intelligent and extended discussion in the public press of the state.

The training of the citizen for the ordinary duties of citizenship would seem to be a matter of such supreme moment in a popular government, that it is difficult to account for the fact that instruction upon the subject has never yet found a place in the course of study in our common schools. The science of Civics, as it is now called, is receiving earnest and intelligent attention and discussion at the hands of our educators and intelligent public-spirited citizens generally. This science, which deals with the duties of the citizen to the state, and with the principles of government which underlie those duties, should be taught, at least in its elementary principles, in all our schools. The constitution of the United States, the constitution of our commonwealth, and the laws which bear upon the rights and duties of citizens as constituent parts of the body politic, can as readily be taught, with as much of success and practical results, as arithmetic or any abstract science or the more practical study of geography. There is no reason for teaching the physical outlines and features of our country, and leaving the principles upon which our government is founded, and in the exercise of which it must be perpetuated, untaught. It would seem that the state in founding a system of education, would provide first for the teaching of those principles upon which the state is based, and which must govern the individual citizen in the discharge of his duties as such. The causes which have led to the development of such an abnormal system of education are easily found and understood by those who will give intelligent thought to the subject. We do not now deal with the causes. Here are the facts. What shall be done with them? These are practical questions which appeal to all our people and challenge the careful thought and best efforts of our wisest legislators.

Closely allied to the education of our young, are the care and training of the destitute children of the state. Wisely forbidden a place in our alms-houses, no adequate provi-

sion has been made for their ordinary care and for fitting them for usefulness in life. We cannot afford to found in this country an aristocracy of pauperism. The state must, in self-defense, take the young who are deprived of natural guardians, and those of unnatural parents who fail to provide for their off-spring, and train them for independent support and usefulness. This is not a question which appeals to philanthropy alone. Prudent forethought and wise economy will expend money and effort in directing the youthful mind, and the pliant energies of childhood into proper channels ; and the result will be self-respecting, intelligent, and self-supporting manhood and womanhood. It may be that some legislation on this subject is needed. Just how the question is to be met is not here discussed. The fact is stated in order that the thought of the people may be turned toward the subject, and its discussion lead to practical results. In such a discussion, however, would it not be well to lead the public mind away from great institutions, with their cumbersome management and labor-saving machinery, to such a simple and inexpensive organisation as will approach the home, and will exact from the inmates the discharge of the ordinary every-day duties which are performed by the children, in the average homes of our people ; or, better, to hearty co-operation in such organisations as seek out the destitute and provide real homes in families where they will be reared and educated for future usefulness ?

What of our children and youth who, through the neglect or avarice of unnatural parents, or their own waywardness, fail to take advantage of the facilities for educational training which are offered them in every school district of the commonwealth ? The state cannot afford to allow her children to grow up in ignorance or idleness, or both. Self-preservation again asserts itself and insists that every child born and reared within the limits of the commonwealth must be trained for usefulness, and for bearing its full share of the burdens, and discharging its full share of the duties of citizenship. How shall this be done ? Is compulsory education feasible ? If so, under what conditions



and limitations? The question is merely stated. The people must deal with it and instruct their representatives in regard to it. What of the neglected class, already beyond the limits of childhood, which has fallen into the commission of misdemeanor and crime? Reformation, not punishment for the mere sake of punishment, is the true interest of the state. Our House of Refuge and reform school provide, in a measure, for the very young. What shall we do with that large class, a little older, who are to be saved for the state and the future, and for usefulness and happiness? A reformatory, a place for training, a place for educating them out of themselves and into something better and nobler, is being prepared. How shall it be organised? Let public thought and public discussion turn to this question, and, in the light of what has been accomplished elsewhere, let Pennsylvania take her stand in the front rank of reform on this subject.

No subject more directly or deeply interests the people generally than the revenue, or rather the system of taxation by which, and under which, our revenue is raised. That grave inequalities exist cannot be denied. That revenue commissions and ordinary legislation have hitherto failed to remedy these inequalities is likewise true. Our latest revenue law and the decisions of the courts thereunder seem only to magnify these inequalities, and to increase the burdens of that class of the community which has, heretofore, with some justice, complained of the load which it was required to carry. Whatever the intention of the law imposing a state tax upon mortgages may have been, the practical effect of it as at present administered, is to relieve corporations holding those mortgages from taxation entirely and to impose whatever of revenue is raised from that source, to a great extent at least, upon the mortgagors, thus entailing additional burdens upon our agricultural interests and the holders of modest homesteads. The burden of local taxation for county, school, poor, and road purposes falls almost entirely upon real estate. The farmer with his farm, and the mechanic with his home, already bearing as they believe, more than their full share of the burdens of



taxation, are, if compelled to borrow money upon mortgage, required to pay in addition to the ordinary rate of interest the State tax levied thereon. The result is that the more unfortunate our small land-holder may be, the more heavy are the burdens of taxation which oppress him. We have endeavored to encourage manufacturers by exempting the stock of manufacturing corporations from taxation. In order to prevent money seeking investment in other states, we have endeavored to lighten the burden of taxation upon it. Let us beware lest, by unduly taxing the great middle class, which is the pride and boast of Pennsylvania, we drive from us a people who are more to us than manufacturers or money. May it not be true that by an unequal system of taxation, and by failing to provide by law, adequate exemption of the homestead, we are driving from us a large class of valuable citizens who seek a home where exemption from taxation and liberal homestead laws, protect them and provide for increased comfort? In cases where the money-lender pays the taxes required to be paid under our latest revenue law, is it not true in practice that the corporation lending money upon mortgage is entirely exempted from its payment, and the poor widow and orphan whose entire income may be derived from the interest on a modest investment, is made to pay the full amount of the tax as provided by the law? If so, this ought not so to be. Our whole revenue system is built up of disjointed and fragmentary provisions of law. Under the impulse of a supposed inequality in one direction, we have rushed to an extreme in the other, and so created greater ills than those from which we fled. Where is the golden mean? If called upon to communicate with the legislature hereafter, during its present session, something more practical and pointed on this subject may be said.

Our charitable institutions appeal to the sympathy of the public. It is to our credit that they are so well sustained. A new institution providing for a class which appeals especially to our sympathy and demands our help, has been established at Erie for the care and support, under imme-

diate state supervision, of the soldiers and sailors rendered destitute by reason of their service in the defense of their country, who do not come within the technical provisions of the laws regulating our national homes established for this class of unfortunates. It seems to be conceded that our almshouses are not proper places for them. The beginning which has been made at Erie demonstrates the entire feasibility of the plan; and the attention of the public is called to the institution in the hope of awakening interest and inquiry in regard to its management, and of calling forth a wider sympathy in behalf of the unfortunate class gathered, and yet to be gathered, within its hospitable walls.

In communicating directly with you in this general way, many subjects of immediate interest to the commonwealth at large crowd themselves upon us; but the occasion and the surroundings forbid the mere mention of them, and have rendered extended discussion of any subject entirely out of the question.

There are questions also, of moment which concern us as citizens of our great country which press upon the thought and demand fearless discussion. The same proprieties which limit discussion in other directions forbid it in this.

The retiring Executive is entitled to the thanks of the people of the commonwealth for the earnestness of purpose which has governed him in the discharge of the high duties to which he was called by you, and which are now assumed, in accordance with your will, by another. In this presence, and on your behalf, these thanks are hereby cordially tendered, as well as my personal acknowledgment of the courtesy and kindness which have characterised his efforts to inform me as to the new and responsible duties which now devolve upon me, and to make the transfer of responsibility from his shoulders to mine both easy and pleasant.

And now my fellow-citizens, as in the beginning of this address, so now let me say *I am yours for service*. The best powers of body and mind with which God has endowed me are yours, to be freely expended in your service, for your welfare. In rendering this service, your cordial

co-operation and the faithful, intelligent criticism of the public press are earnestly desired ; and the guidance and help and blessing of Him who has been, and always will be, first in service to mankind, are devoutly invoked.



















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